

Evening Telegraph

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TUESDAY, MARCH 27, 1866.

The True Issue of the Campaign.

This issue to be settled by the people of Pennsylvania in October next is not a complex one. It does not consist, as our opponents are endeavoring to make us believe, of a series of questions concerning the settlement of negro suffrage, support or defeat of Mr. Johnson, confiscation, and negro equality. All these are mere side issues, thrown out by the Democracy for the purpose of blinding the eyes and directing the attention from the vital question on which the campaign hangs. That question is whether the Rebel population, with their hands yet red with blood, and their souls yet bitter against our nation, shall be immediately entitled to participation in the government of that land whose ruin they still desire, or whether wisdom and safety do not dictate that the Southern people be kept, at least for the present, outside of our legislative halls. This is really what the people are to decide. If it can be shown that history and common sense recommend the immediate placing in the hands of traitors of the weapons which they still desire to plunge into the national heart; if it can be proved that ever in the past the instantaneous forgiveness and reinstatement in rank of unrepentant rebels has been of advantage to the Government thus casting their crimes into oblivion, then policy would dictate that the good citizens of our State should support the Democratic nominee. It, however, on the other hand, reason and experience advise us that, whenever traitors in arms, and openly and avowedly unrepentant, have been admitted into the citadel, destruction to loyalty has resulted, then we demand the suffrages of all true Americans.

It is not true, as the Democracy have asserted, that the Republican party desire to hold the late Rebel States in a condition of vassalage or inferiority. It is only so long as those States maintain their arrogance and defend their unlawful actions, that we would have them held in a state of probation. And in so doing we violate no law, nor perform any act of injustice, but merely follow the course dictated by common sense. The moment the South has shown a regret for its action, and gives us a promise of reformation for the future, and eternal loyalty, at that moment those who are now opposing the opening of the doors of Congress would hasten to welcome the prodigal brothers. And that we do not immediately assent to the admission of their representatives, is no evidence of the desire of the Northern people to act unjustly to the South. We are told that "taxation without representation is tyranny." Granted. But when a citizen is guilty of some heinous crime, does not that offense disfranchise him? Is he not deprived of representation? Yet, should he be possessed of property, his loss of suffrage would not exempt his possessions from taxation. And in this taxing without allowing the payer to be represented, we are not aware of having violated any of the received maxims of political justice, but only conform to a custom transmitted to us from time immemorial. The criminal, by his own act, has lost his right to vote as he has his right of freedom; and until pardoned by the authorities, this criminal continues to be taxed and unrepresented, yet this affords no evidence of the violation of an old and cherished doctrine.

If the right of suffrage is forfeited by an individual by the commission of a capital crime, does it not follow that so great an offense as treason should work forfeiture of a right which is lost by an act against an individual? If for the murder of a fellow-being a citizen loses his vote, surely an attack upon the life of the nation precludes the traitor from the exercise of suffrage. We therefore see no injustice, no inconsistency with the principle for which we fought in 1776. The whole Southern people have committed a heinous crime. By their act they have forfeited the right of representation until they be pardoned. As by their own deed and free will they lost that privilege, and as it was no fault of the United States that they were guilty of such offenses, surely the nation ought not to suffer because of the exemption of traitors' property from the terms to which the possessions of loyal citizens are subjected. Therefore, so long as the South remains wilful and defiant; so long will the people of the North refuse to receive with open arms unrepentant traitors, and no cry of the sympathizers about "no representation" will prevent the levying of just taxes for the support of the nation. As it is not inconsistent with precedent or justice to hold these Rebels in a state of probation, therefore such of our citizens as believe that the safety of the nation demands that they be so held, will support that party whose doctrine is to recompense loyalty and punish treason.

The cry of "negro suffrage" is a device of the enemy. The question to be settled is not negro suffrage. When the day comes that it shall be presented before the people, then we will fairly and openly meet the issue, and give our views. But we protest against words and sentiments being thrust into our mouths, and inscriptions being placed upon our banner which were not inscribed by us.

During the coming campaign each party should fight under its distinct colors. We are ready to have the record of our leader examined and criticized; but in such an examination we want no immunities. Let us have the truth, and if any faults be found, their force will be augmented by openly hurling them at us. If no spot is discerned, then let us not have dabbled utterances, which infer much but state nothing. Lay aside all the marks and devices which may tend to hide the truth, and let the people fairly decide whether unrepentant Rebels shall make our laws, or whether loyal legislation shall not thoroughly purge all treason before the participants in accession shall be forgiven.

THE ANTICIPATED VETO.—The impression seems to be universal that Mr. JOHNSON will veto the Civil Rights bill. The time allowed for him to do so by law is now rapidly passing. At 4 P. M. on Wednesday the ten days will have elapsed. We may therefore expect to hear from him to-day, and certainly to-morrow. All the leading journals of our country concur in expressing the belief that he will return it without his signature. The New York Tribune endorses the statement of the Intelligencer, the semi-official organ, that the veto will not be sent to the Senate before Wednesday, as the President claims the right to deduct Sunday. The Herald says:—

"The veto message will be sent to the Senate, and will undoubtedly be received there to-morrow. This in accounts for the activity of the radicals and the renewal of the effort to get STOCKTON out of the Senate before the vote is taken on the veto. With STOCKTON disqualified from voting, and Senator DIXON'S absence from sickness, the conservative strength is made two less. With this they hope to pass the bill over the veto. This is the sequel of the movement in the Senate to-day, and explains why Senator MORRILL violated his pledge of pairing off when the vote on the report of the committee was taken."

The New York Times says:— "It had been almost universally believed up to this evening that Mr. JOHNSON'S message was prepared and would be sent to the Senate before its adjournment, and, in consequence, a stream of the curious continued to pass into and out of the Capitol this afternoon, making inquiries about the veto message, or by common parlance the anticipated communication is called. There are dozens of rumors about the President's intended course in this matter, none of them, of course, having any foundation, for no one but the President himself knows positively what he intends to do, except that it is his purpose to hold the bill under consideration until to-morrow afternoon, and probably until the next day."

The World says:— "The impression that the Civil Rights bill would be returned to the Senate to-day with a veto was not verified by the fact, and it is now well known that not until yesterday was the President earnestly engaged in its consideration. It is further intimated, upon well-grounded assurances of truth, that it will receive its first Cabinet discussion to-morrow. The President will not be so discourteous to his constitutional advisers as to send a veto message to Congress without having first given notice in Cabinet meeting that such is his intention. A review of his determination to-morrow will not prevent the message from being sent to the Senate at that time."

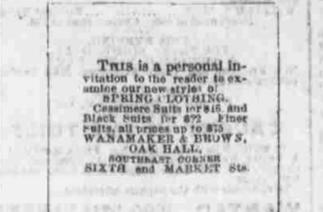
The New York News says:— "No apprehension need be felt about the veto of the Civil Rights bill. The veto message is written, and will be sent to the Senate to-morrow or on Wednesday. The message is long. It treats of the most important provisions of the Government and Constitutional law, and much time has been required in the preparation of a State paper of such importance. An attempt will be made, of course, to carry the bill over the veto; but no well-informed person believes that this can be done. The Senate will certainly sustain the veto."

From this universality of sentiment, we suppose that we must consider the veto as an established fact, and that on to-morrow, at latest, the Senate will receive the bill without the Executive signature.

THE CASE OF SENATOR STOCKTON.—It is seldom that the seat of a Senator is contested when no one appears as a claimant; yet such an instance is afforded in the question whether the Hon. RICHARD L. STOCKTON is or is not Senator from New Jersey. The point to be decided is whether a plurality of a joint convention is sufficient to elect. Mr. STOCKTON was chosen Senator by only a plurality, not a majority vote. As no similar case has ever come before our National Legislature, its decision will establish a precedent of importance. The exceedingly close vote by which the case was decided in favor of the gentleman has naturally attracted attention. The Senate was equally divided, when Mr. STOCKTON, by his own vote, declared his right to a seat. The facts of the case are briefly these:—Mr. MORRILL and Mr. WRIGHT agreed that neither should vote on the STOCKTON case, unless both were present. Mr. WRIGHT was away, and Mr. MORRILL, after giving three days notice of the dissolution of the agreement, voted against Mr. STOCKTON, whereupon Mr. STOCKTON voted for himself, and thus decided the question in his favor. He explains that he voted not for himself, but for his colleague; and while Mr. MORRILL may have thought, and with perfect right, that he had given sufficient time, yet still Mr. STOCKTON claims that the shortness of the length of time is a sufficient excuse for acting as he did. We do not believe that this vote was legal, but that even if it was we cannot but deplore the evident indecency of such a course. The question is not so much whether the present Senator is entitled to his seat as whether he will be ousted before the reception of the veto of the civil rights bill. If he is, then the necessary two-thirds vote will possibly be secured. Hence the haste to have the case settled and the universal interest which it is exciting.

CLEVELAND AND WASHINGTON.—The preliminary surveys of the Cleveland and Mahoning railroad, made under the direction of Sigmund Loom, Esq., are nearly completed. The road will be sixty-eight miles in length, and will reduce the distance between Cleveland and Washington city, via Conneville Railroad and Point of Rocks, eighty-three miles.—Baltimore Sun.

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